NUMISMATIC PARALLELS OF KĀLIDĀSA

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SHAKTI KARYALAYAM
MADRAS MADURA COIMBATORE TINNEVELLY

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NUMISMATIC PARALLELS OF KĀLIDĀSA

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS BY THE AUTHOR

BY THE SAME AUTHOR

Sculpture inspired by Kālidāsa

With a Foreword by the Rt. Hon'ble M. R. Jayakar, pp. xxii and 58; 45 illustrations by the author. The Samskṛta Academy, Mylapore, Madras.

Amaravati Sculptures in the Madras Government Museum

With a Foreword by Dr. F. H. Gravely, pp. xviii and 376; 65 plates including illustrations by the author. Bulletin of the Madras Government Museum, Madras.

Epigraphical Echoes of Kālidāsa

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Numismatic Parallels of Kālidāsa

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WITH A FOREWORD

BY

SACHIVOTTAMA

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MADRAS MADURA COIMBATORE TINNEVELLY

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PUBLISHER'S NOTE

This little book completes the trilogy which Mr. Sivaramamurti had planned in his studies of the poet Kālidāsa, sculpturally, epigraphically, and numismatically. With the precision and profundity of a scholar he combines the emotional glows of an artist in the treatment of his subject-matter. We are glad to be able to publish this volume which will be of interest at once to the pandit and to the layman.

To

MY FRIEND

DR. V. S. AGRAWALA, M.A., LL.B., PH.D.

To whom I owe my inspiration to study Kalidasa from the Archaeologist's view-point.

FOREWORD

Mr. Sivaramamurti, the talented Curator of the Madras Museum, has been concentrating his attention on various aspects of Kalidasa's poetic and dramatic achievements. Not only was Kalidasa a supreme delineator of the play of human character and motive but he was an expert in the creation of dramatic situations. Above all, he was an unrivalled exponent in Sanskrit of every type of poetic rhythm and melody ranging in subject from simple and crystal-clear historical narrative to the elaborate description of natural phenomena and the moods of the human spirit. His *Meghasandesa* is perhaps the most perfect example, in all literature, of verbal felicity. It was not only as a poet and dramatist that Kalidasa was distinguished but, as is evident from the studies of Mr. Sivaramamurti, he, like all artists, inspired succeeding generations not only in his own chosen field but in other realms of thought as well.

Mr. Sivaramamurti has, in addition to a study of the unique Amaravati sculptures in the Madras Museum, written on sculpture as inspired

by Kalidasa as well as the epigraphical echoes of the poet. The present volume deals with Numismatical aspects and he seeks to provide examples to the reader of pictorial and poetic features of various coins, which have been inspired by the poet's stanzas. Some of the parallels indicated in the study, as in the cases of *Kakapaksha* and the picture of the King seated on a couch with a lyre on his lap, are not only ingenious but convincing.

I wish the author all success in his literary and archæological efforts.

C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar

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ABBREVIATIONS

Cat. Ind. Coins, Cat. Coins Andhra Dyn. Kṣatra. Traikūt. Bodhi Dyn.	Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum, Catalogue of Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, the Western Ksatrapas, the Traikūṭaka Dynasty and the Bodhi Dynasty by E. J. Rapson, London, 1908.
Cat. Ind. Coins, Cat. Coins Ancient Ind.	Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum, Catalogue of Coins of Ancient India by John Allan, London, 1936.
Cat. Ind. Coins, Cat. Coins Gupta Dyn.	Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum, Catalogue of Coins of the Gupta Dynasties and of Śaśāṅka, King of Gauḍa by John Allan, London, 1914.
Cat. Coins, Ind. Mus. I.	Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, including the Cabinet of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. I, by Vincent A, Smith, Oxford, 1906.
Coins S. Ind.	Coins of Southern India (International Numismata Orientalia III, Part 2), by W. Elliot, 1883.
C. Inscr. Ind. III.	Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum Volume III, Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings and their Successors, by J. F. Fleet, Calcutta, 1888.
Epigraph. Ind. VIII.	Epigraphia Indica, Volume VIII Calcutta, 1905-06.
Raghu.	Raghuvamśa by Kālidāsa.
Rāma.	Rāmāyaṇa by Vālmīki.
Śāk.	Abhijñāna-Śākuntalam by Kālidāsa.

ILLUSTRATIONS

Headpiece. Gold coin of Harihara II, Vijayanagar, 14th century A.D.; reverse showing Umāsahita (Śiva with Umā) seated; Coins S. Ind., pl. III, Nos. 96, 97 and Cat. Coins Ind. Mus. I, pl. XXX, 25.

Fig. 1. Silver coin of Amoghabhūti, Kuṇinda, Tribal coin, 1st century B.C.; obverse showing cow to left, female figure standing facing holding flower in uplifted right hand, symbols above back of cow and horns, legend in Brāhmi Rājñaḥ Kuṇiṁdasa Amoghabhūtisa Mahārājasa; Cat. Ind. Coins, Cat. Coins Ancient Ind. pl. XXII, XXIII.

Fig. 2. Copper coin of Amśuvarman, Nepal, 7th century A. D.; reverse showing cow standing left, above Kāmadehi; Coins Ancient Ind., pl. XIII, 4.

Fig. 3. Lead coin of Gautamīputra Viḷivāyakura, Sāta vāhana, 2nd century A. D.; Bow strung and fitted with arrow pointing upwards, legend in Brāhmi Raño Gotamīputasa Viḷivāyakurasa; Cat. Ind. Coins, Cat. Coins Andhra Dyn. W. Kṣatra, Traikūṭ., Bodhi Dyn., pl. III, 47.

Fig. 4. Line of the Nasik inscription of Vāṣiṣṭhīputra Śrī Puḷumāvi's grandmother Queen Gautamī Balasiri, Sātavāhana, 2nd century A. D.; Epigraph. Ind. VIII, p. 60, line 7.

Fig. 5. Gold coin of Candragupta II, Gupta, 4th century A. D.; obverse showing king standing left, nimbate, casting incense on altar, a dwarf attendant holding umbrella over him, legend Kṣitim avajitya sucaritair divaṁ jayati Vikramādityaḥ; Cat. Ind. Coins, Cat. Coins Gupta Dyn., pl. VIII, 3.

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Fig. 8. Silver coin of Dāmasena, son of Rudrasimha, Kṣatrapa. 3rd century A. D.; reverse showing mountain with crescent above, wavy line beneath, crescent on left and star on right, legend in Brāhmi Rājño Mahākṣatrapasa Rudrasīhasa putrasa Rajño Mahākṣatrapasa Dāmasenasa; Cat. Ind. Coins, Cat. Coins Andhra Dyn. W. Kṣatra. Traikūṭ. Bodhi Dyn., pl. XIII, 388.

Fig. 9. Silver coin of Satrap Jihunia or Zeionises of Taxila, Indo-Parthian, 1st century A. D.; reverse showing satrap standing to right facing a goddess standing to left and about to crown him with wreath, goddess carries cornucopia, monograms and Kharoṣṭhī legend Managulasa Chatrapasa putrasa Chatrapasa (Ji) huni (asa); Cat. Coins Ind. Mus. I, pl. IX, 14.

Fig. 10. Gold coin of Samudragupta showing Candragupta I and Kumāradevī, Gupta, 4th century A. D.; obverse showing Candragupta I nimbate standing to

left wearing close-fitting coat, trousers and ornaments, holding standard in left hand and offering a ring held in right hand to Kumāradevī nimbate who stands on left facing the King wearing under and upper garments and ornaments, legend on either side of standard Caṁdra and gupta and on left Kumāradevī; reverse showing goddess Lakṣmī nimbate seated facing on couchant lion carrying noose in right hand and cornucopia in left arm, her feet resting on lotus, legend to right Licchavayaḥ; Cat. Ind. Coins, Cat. Coins Gupta Dyn., pl. III.

Fig. 11. Gold coin of Narendraditya, Unattributed Gupta type, 7th century A. D.; King nimbate seated on throne with head to left, attended by a lady on either side, legend above Yama, beneath couch letter dha; reverse showing goddess Lakṣmī nimbate standing holding lotus in right hand and with lotuses about her and a swan near her feet, legend Śrī Narendrādityaḥ; Cat. Ind. Coins, Cat. Coins Gupta Dyn., pl. XXIV, 5.

Fig. 12. Silver coin of Śrī Rājendra Coḷa, Coḷa, 11th century A. D.; obverse or reverse showing seated tiger, bow behind and two fish in front, all three emblems of the three South Indian powers, with umbrella and fly-whisks above suggesting Coḷa suzereignty, legend in Nāgarī below Śrī Rājendraḥ; Coins S. Ind. pl. IV, 153.

Fig. 13. Gold coin of Kumāragupta I, Gupta, 5th century A. D.; obverse showing king, with goad in right hand, riding elephant advancing left, behind king is seated an attendant holding umbrella over him, traces of legend which is lost; Cat. Ind. Coins, Cat. Coins Gupta Dyn., pl. XV, 16.

Fig. 14. Gold coin of Kumāragupta I, Gupta, 5th century A. D.; reverse showing Kārtikeya nimbate seated on peacock with spear in left hand (Śaktidhara) and sprinkling incence on altar, legend Mahendrakumāraḥ; Cat. Ind. Coins, Cat. Coins Gupta Dyn., pl. XV, 5.

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Fig. 16. Gold coin of Candragupta II, Gupta, 4th century A. D.; obverse showing king standing to right shooting lion fallen on its back failing in its leap, legend Narendracandraḥ prathita. . . divaṁ jayatyajeyo bhuvi siṅhavikramaḥ; Cat. Ind. Coins, Cat. Coins Gupta Dyn. pl. IX, 9.

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Fig. 18. Copper coin of Avanti (Ujjain), about 2nd century B. C.; obverse showing king or deity standing wearing short-tailed coat and high crown, to right solar symbol composed of nandipādas and arrow-heads, above svastika and nandipāda, to left standard surmounted by rayed sun, extreme left tree in railing lost; Cat. Coins Ind. Mus. I, pl. XX, 2.

Fig. 19. Gold coin of Samudragupta, Gupta, 4th century A. D.; obverse showing king nimbate standing wearing tight coat and ornaments, holding bow in left hand and arrow in right hand, Garuḍa standard

on left, legend beneath left arm Samudra and near margin around Apratiratho vijitya kṣitiṁ sucaritair divaṁ jayati; Cat. Ind. Coins, Cat. Coins Gupta Dyn., pl. IV, 1.

Fig. 20. Line 7 of the Mandasor inscription of Yaśodharman, 6th century A. D.; C. Inscr. Ind. III, p. 147.

Fig. 21. Lead coin of Śrī Candra Śātavāhana, 2nd century A. D.; obverse showing horse standing opposite sacrificial post, legend in Brāhmī Raño Siri Cada Satisa; Cat. Ind. Coins, Cat. Coins Andhra Dyn. W. Kṣatra. Traikūṭ. Bodhi Dyn., pl. VI. G. P. 3.

Fig. 22. Gold coin of Samudragupta, Gupta, 4th century A. D.; obverse showing horse before sacrificial post with its pennons flying above the animal, beneath horse letter Si and legend around Rājādhirājaḥ pṛthivīm avitva divam jayatyaprativāryavīryaḥ; reverse showing chief queen nimbate standing wearing loose robe and ornaments carrying fly-whisk in right hand resting on her shoulder, opposite her sácrificial spear with fillet, lotus supporting queen's feet, legend to right Aśvamedhaparākramah. Cat. Ind. Coins, Cat. Coins Gupta Dyn. pl. V.

Fig. 23. Gold coin of Samudragupta, Gupta, 4th century A. D.; obverse showing king nimbate wearing waist cloth and ornaments seated on high-backed couch, playing lyre resting on his lap, footstool beneath couch with letter Si, legend around Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Samudraguptaḥ; Cat. Ind. Coins, Cat. Coins Gupta Dyn., pl. V. 1.

Fig. 24. Gold coin of Candragupta II, Gupta, 4th century A. D.; obverse showing king nimbate wearing waist

cloth and ornaments seated on high-backed couch, holding flower in right hand, his left hand resting on couch, legend below couch near footstool Rūpākṛtī and around Deva Śrī Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Candraguptasya; Cat. Ind. Coins, Cat. Coins Gupta Dyn., pl. VI, 9.

Fig. 25. Copper coin of Parvata from Kosam, 2nd century B. C.; obverse showing tree in railing on right and mountain on left, legend below them in Brāhmi Pavatasa; Cat. Coins Ind. Mus. I, pl. XX, 4.

Fig. 26. Silver coin of Apollodotos, Indo-Greek, 2nd century B. C.; obverse showing elephant standing and legend in Greek Basileos Apollodotou Soteros; reverse showing bull standing and legend in Kharoṣṭhī Maharajasa Apaladatasa tratarasa; Cat. Coins, Ind. Mus. I, pl. IV, 5.

Fig. 27. Silver coin of Mahādeva Audumbara, Tribal coin, 2nd-1st centuries B. C.; obverse showing humped bull and flower, legend in Kharoṣṭhī Bhagavata Mahadevasa and below Rajarañaº; reverse showing elephant with trunk raised and trident, legend in Brāhmī Bhagavata Mahadevasa and below Rajaraja; Cat. Ind. Coins, Cat. Coins Ancient Ind., pl. XIV, 16.

Fig. 28. Potin coin of Yaudheyas, Tribal coin, 2nd-1st centuries B, C.; obverse showing bull before sacrificial post, legend in Brāhmī Yaudheyānāṁ above and uncertain legend below; reverse showing elephant, nandipāda and pennon-like object above; Cat. Ind. Coins, Cat. Coins Ancient Ind., pl. XXXIX, 11.

Numismatic Parallels of Kalidasa

वागर्थाविव संपृक्तौ वागर्थप्रतिपत्तये ।
जगतः पितरौ वन्दे पार्वतीपरमेश्वरौ ॥ [1] Raghu I. 1

The use of metallic coin as currency has a long antiquity. The earliest punch-marked coins of India bear figures that have been classsified and have engaged the assiduous attention of numismatists in India and abroad. The early tribal coins and various other die-struck and cast coins have also many interesting features on them that offer themselves for study. Every figure struck or marked on a coin has been done deliberately with a purpose and has some function to serve, some meaning to connote. In

[1] To understand properly words and their meanings I bow to Pārvatī and Parameśvara, the parents of the universe, who are closely united like a word and its meaning.

one form or other it is always some exalted quality or admirable power of the sovereign that is emphasised in all these suggestive figures on the coins and the inspiration of classical poets has its stamp. Some of these offer themselves for interpretation in the light of some literary parallels from Kālidāsa's compositions.

Earth, Cow of Plenty.—Of the early tribal coins that of Amoghabhūti (Fig. 1) is an example. The coin presents a cow and beside it a lady standing. The sense of this is not clear. The why and wherefore of the presence of the animal and a lady beside it is not understood till we read a line of Kālidāsa that refers to Pṛthvī or the earth as Gorūpadharā or in the form of a cow, with four oceans as her udder meaning thereby a mighty expanse of empire reaching the oceans. We know from inscriptions that it was the ambition of every king to rule the earth up to the shores of the oceans and the Mathurā inscription of Candragupta II and many other Gupta and later inscriptions say:

Fig. 1. Along the margin
राज्ञः कुनिंदस अमोघभूतिस महाराजस

चतुरुदधिसलिलास्वादितयशसः[2] C. Inscr. Ind. III, p. 26

This makes it clear that the expanse of earth bounded by the four oceans was the ideal limit of the empire that every king aspired for; almost always kings in their limited territories styled themselves as ruling a realm extending to

[2] Whose fame has tasted the water of the four oceans.

the seas. Now the coin of the Kuṇinda Amoghabhūti suggests his unfailing fortune symbolised by the cow of plenty with the lady beside it suggesting Pṛthvī or earth personified who assumed the form of a cow. And Kālidāsa's line

पयोधरीभूतचतुःसमुद्रां जुगोप गोरूपधरामिवोर्वीम्[3] Raghu II, 3

gives us an explanation of the figure on the coin. Another line

दुदोह गां स यज्ञाय[4] Raghu I. 26

is also suggestive of the same thought. The king's protection and care for his country is conveyed thus with great force.

In considering this we have to take into account the numerous tribal coins of India of the time of the Christian era wherein a cow is figured beside a tree in railing or back to back on obverse or reverse. The cow can easily be understood as the cow of plenty and the tree as the Kalpataru or the wish-fulfilling tree.

आसीत् कल्पतरुच्छायामाश्रिता सुरभिः पथि[5] Raghu I. 75

That the cow was not a mere animal for the supply of milk and that she was venerated as the very embodiment of Kāmaduhā, *i.e.*, yielding all that was desired, is the vein of

[3] He protected her like the Earth in the form of a cow with the four oceans as her udder with four teats.

[4] He milked Earth of her resources for performing sacrifices.

[5] On the way the cow Surabhi was enjoying the shade of the Kalpa tree.

thought current in India of that time and Kālidāsa voices this appropriately in his line

न केवलानां पयसां प्रसूति-
मवेहि मां कामदुघां प्रसन्नाम्[6]
Raghu II. 63

and one of the early coins of Nepal belonging to Amśuvarman (Fig. 2) presents visually the last quarter of this verse of Kālidāsa giving the significant appelation to the cow on the obverse of the coin कामदेहि.[7]

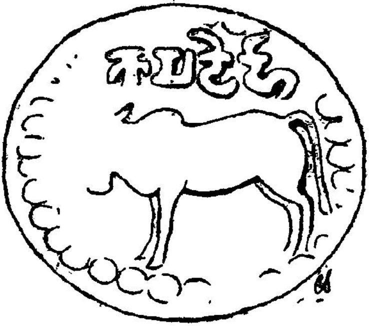

Fig. 2. Above कामदेहि

Only Unrivalled Bowman.—On one of the Sātavāhana coins, a single large bow is found marked on the obverse. The coin is of one of the most remarkable kings in Indian History, Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi. (Fig. 3.) The figure naturally leads us on to the question of what it connotes. The answer is to be sought in the line of the famous inscription of Balasiri the mother of Gautamīputra, who gifted an

Fig. 3. Along the margin राजो गोतमीपुतस विळिवायकुरस

[6] I am not merely a source of milk, but when pleased understand that I can fulfill all wishes.

[7] Fulfilling all desires.

excavated cave to Buddhist monks at Nasik and recorded the donation. The praśasti here is one of the noblest in Indian epigraphy. There is a long glowing description of the noble qualities of Gautamīputra recounted by the fond mother Balasiri sorrowing for her great son during the reign of her grandson Vasiṣthīputra Puḷumāvi, worthy son of Gautamīputra. A line in this praśasti (Fig. 4) describes Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi as

एकधनुधरस[8] Epigraph. Ind. VIII, p. 60.

He had no rival bowman on earth. In describing Dilīpa, Kālidāsa uses the identical expression in his verse

Fig, 4. एकधनुधरस

न केवलं तद्गुरुरेकपार्थिवः क्षितावभूदेकधनुर्धरोऽपि सः ॥[9]

Raghu III. 31

The sense of the coin is thus made clear in unequivocal terms; and like the hieroglyphics of Egypt there is the picture suggesting all the sense that is sought to be conveyed. Further, as it is strung and arrow fitted on it, it also conveys the sense in the verse of Kālidāsa describing the might of Dilīpa.

न हीष्टमस्य त्रिदिवेऽपि भूपतेरभूदनासाध्यमधिज्यधन्वनः[10]

Raghu III. 6

[8] The only bowman.

[9] His father was not only the only sovereign on earth but was also the only bowman.

[10] There was nothing which was unobtainable to that king even in heaven when he tightened the string of his bow.

Only Umbrella aloft.—The great ambition of every Indian king has ever been to subdue every contemporary prince and rule an empire with a royal umbrella raised aloft over his head alone, denying this privilege to every other prince. This ambition of sovereignty of a single parasol एकच्छत्राधिपत्य[11] has caused all the wars that history records and life has been counted as nothing by kings and emperors in the achieving of this object. A prize so coveted should naturally be expected to be properly displayed. And how best can it be shown except as it is given on one of the Gupta coins? Candragupta II, the great emperor, is shown standing and a vāmana dwarf attendant raises an umbrella over his head (Fig. 5). No greater significance can there be in this figure than that conveyed by Kālidāsa in his lines

Fig. 5. A long the margin क्षितिमवजित्य सुचीर [तैर्दिवं जयति विक्रमादित्यः]

एकातपत्रां भुवमेकवीरः पुरार्गलादीर्घभुजो बुभोज[12]

Raghu XVIII, 4

and

एकातपत्रं जगतः प्रभुत्वं नवं वयः कान्तमिदं वपुश्च[13]

Raghu II. 47

[11] Sovereignty of a single parasol.

[12] That only hero wit arms long like the bolt of a city-gate enjoyed the earth on which as raised only a single umbrella.

[13] Sovereignty of the earth with only a single umbrella raised on it, youth and this lovely body.

The might and majesty of the sovereign as given in the line

सालप्रांशुर्महाभुजः[14]

Raghu I. 13

is sought to be conveyed with emphasis by showing the king standing, a vāmana attendant being specially chosen to lift so lofty a parasol for contrast.

Sidelocks still.—On some coins of Gautamīputra Yajña Śātakarṇi is imprinted on the obverse a youthful head with sidelocks known as kākapakṣa. (Fig. 6). The sidelocks were the special characteristic of the mode of hair-dressing for princes in their youth in ancient India. In the Rāmāyaṇa, Rāma, when he sallied forth with Viśvāmitra to save his sacrifice from the disturbance of evil demons, is described as the wearer of sidelocks.

Fig. 6. Along the margin
राञो गोतमीपुतस सिरियञसातकणिस

विश्वामित्रो ययावग्रे
ततो रामो महायशाः ।
काकपक्षधरो धन्वी तं च सौमित्रिरन्वगात् ॥[15]

Rāma. I 12, 6

14 Tall like the Sāl tree and with lengthy arms.

15 Viśvāmitra went in advance, then Rāma of great renown, wearing sidelocks and carrying his bow; the son of Sumitrā followed him.

A Gupta sculpture of exquisite elegance preserved in the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan at Benares similarly shows kākapakṣa for the child warrior Kārtikeya who still wears the juvenile adornment, the tiger's claws. The figure of the coin shows the kākapakṣa characteristic of princely youth but its significance is understood only from the verses of Kālidāsa.

कौशिकेन स किल क्षितीश्वरो राममध्वरविघातशान्तये ।
काकपक्षधरमेत्य याचितस्तेजसां हि न वयः समीक्ष्यते ॥[16]

Raghu XI. 1

and मणौ महानील इति प्रभावादल्पप्रमाणेऽपि यथा न मिथ्या ।
शब्दो महाराज इति प्रतीतस्तथैव तस्मिन् युयुजेऽर्भकेऽपि ॥
पर्यन्तसञ्चारितचामरस्य कपोललोलोभयकाकपक्षात् ।
तस्याननादुच्चरितो विवादश्चस्खाल वेलास्वपि नार्णवानाम् ॥[17]

Raghu XVIII 42, 43

In the light of this we understand that though still Yajña Śātakarṇi is in his youth his prowess and power is very great and his tender age suggested by his sidelocks should not underrate his might.

Fame travels afar.—On the reverse of the coin just mentioned (Fig. 7) and also on the coins of the Western-Kṣatrapas like Dāmasena (Fig. 8) and others there are

[16] The king was approached by Kauśika and requested to send Rama to remove the obstacles to his sacrifices when he was still wearing side locks, as age is of no consideration in the case of the powerful.

[17] Just as the appellation Mahānīla cannot be false in the case of even a small sapphire by its splendour, so the renowned title Mahārāja befitted him even though he was but a child.

symbols whose meaning is obscure. It is clear enough to make out the individual symbols but the connotation of the group as such is not clear. On the coin of Gautamīputra Yajña Sātakarṇi there are what is called the Ujjain symbol by Numismatists, a symbol of caitya or more correctly a hill surmounted by a crescent, a star, and a zigzag symbol connoting river or stream as it is believed. On the coins of the Kṣatrapas Rudradāma, Dāmasena, Vīradāma and others the Ujjain symbol is not present. The connotation of this is clear from the verse of Kālidāsa describing the spread of the fame of Raghu

Fig. 7. Along the margin.
णस गोतमीपुतष हिरु यञ हातकणिष

आरूढमद्रीनुदधीन् वितीर्णं
भुजङ्गमानां वसतिं प्रविष्टम् ।
ऊर्ध्वं गतं यस्य न चानुबन्धि
यशः परिच्छेत्तुमियत्तयालम् ॥[18]
Raghu VI, 77

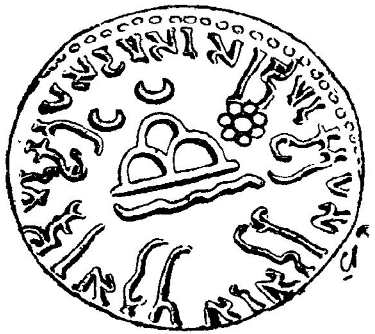

Fig. 8. Along the margin
राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस रुद्रसीहस पुत्रस राज्ञो
महाक्षत्रपस दामसेनस

Word of command coming from his mouth, on whose cheeks were waving the two side locks and beside whom chauries were waved, never failed even on the shores of the oceans.

[18] His fame ascended mountains, crossed the oceans, entered

Fame has always been regarded in India as white in colour and has always been compared to the moon. This accounts for the presentation of the moon above the hill as in no otherwise can an abstract object like fame be represented: The line आरूढमद्रीन्[19] is thereby substantiated. The rest of the line उदधीन् वितीर्णम्[20] and भुजङ्गमानां वसतिं प्रविष्टम्[21] is suggested by the zigzag line which represents water, the mightiest expanse of which is the ocean; and the zigzag also conveniently symbolises the snake or bhujaṅga whose dwelling is in the deep and down below. The heavens can be represented only by the stars and the symbol of the star clearly points to that sphere where fame travelled and substantiates the line ऊर्ध्वं गतम्[22] . The line

> चतुर्दिगावर्जितसंभृतां यो
>
> मृत्पात्रशेषामकरोद्विभूतिम् Raghu VI. 76.

from the immediately preceding verse explains the Ujjain symbol. The symbol has four arms pointing to the four directions and the four circles at the cardinal points point to koṣas treasures that the ruler enjoys from the maṇḍalas from the four quarters. Mr. T. N. Ramachandran makes an excellent suggestion, that the Ujjain symbol may denote the four oceans crossed by Fame.

the abode of the snakes (Pātāla), went up to heaven, and being still expansive was too much to be measured by any standard.

[19] Ascended mountains.

[20] Crossed oceans.

[21] Entered the abode of snakes.

[22] Went up to heaven.

[23] Who made the wealth acquired from the four quarters have just a residue of an earthen pot.

Whom the Goddess of the Capital City and Royal Fortune chose.—Among the coins of the Indo-Parthians there is one of the Satrap Jihunia or Zeonises of Taxila (Fig. 9) in which on the reverse the Satrap is shown standing facing a goddess who carries a cornucopia in her left hand and crowns him with a wreath held in her right hand. Dr. Vincent Smith has suggested that this is probably a representation of the Fortune of a vanquished city. We know that in one of the Gupta inscriptions Lakṣmī is described as having chosen the king in question as her lord.

Fig. 9. Along the margin.
मनगुलस छत्रपस पुत्रस छत्रपस
[जि] हुनि [अस]

व्यपेत्य सर्वान् मनुजेन्द्रपुत्रान् लक्ष्मीः स्वयं यं वरयाञ्चकार[24]

C. Inscr. Ind. III, p. 59,

Does it not remind one of similar idea repeated so often by Kālidāsa

भेजेऽभिसारिकावृत्तिं जयश्रीर्वीरगामिनी[25] Raghu. XVII. 69,
आसीदतिशयप्रेक्ष्यः स राज्यश्रीवधूवरः[26] Raghu. XVII. 25,

24 Whom Lakṣmī herself chose discarding all other princes.

25 The goddess of victory who resorts to heroes chose the attitude of the female lover meeting her lover at the place of tryst.

26 That bridegroom of the bride Royal Fortune appeared most beautiful to look at.

नरेन्द्रमूलायतनादनन्तरं तदास्पदं श्रीर्युवराजसंज्ञितम् ।
अगच्छदंशेन गुणाभिलाषिणी नवावतारं कमलादिवोत्पलम् ॥[27]
Raghu III. 36

उपात्तविद्यं विधिवद्गुरुभ्यस्तं यौवनोद्भेदविशेषकान्तम् ।
श्रीः साभिलाषापि गुरोरनुज्ञां धीरेव कन्या पितुराचकाङ्क्ष ॥[28]
Raghu V. 38.

Also the description of the Goddess of the City of Ayodhyā coming and wooing her lord Kuśa that caused great joy among the learned Brāhmaṇas assembled in the king's court

तदद्भुतं संसदि रात्रिवृत्तं प्रातर्द्विजेभ्यो नृपतिः शशंस ।
श्रुत्वा त एनं कुलराजधान्या साक्षात्पतित्वे वृतमभ्यनन्दन् ॥[29]
Raghu. XVI. 24,

has a picturesque effect about it which is best appreciated by a look at this coin where either Rājyalakṣmī or the Fortune of a City woos the valorous king as her lord.

Truly wedded by the Queen and Lady of Fortune.—On the coins of Candragupta I there is a rare representa-

[27] The goddess of Royal Fortune, being fond of virtues, partially transferred herself to her abode styled yuvarāja from her original abode, the king, as Śrī goes to a new-born lotus from an old one.

[28] Royal Fortune though in love with that prince who had received education appropriately from his preceptors and was then most charming by the freshness of youth, yet waited for her sovereign's consent as a noble daughter awaits her father's consent.

[29] In the morning the king narrated to Brāhmaṇas in his assembly this wonderful incident of the night; and hearing that he was chosen as her husband by his hereditary capital herself they all congratulated him.

tion. It is the presence of the king and queen on the obverse. (Fig. 10) The king is generally represented on

Fig. 10. obverse—On left margin कुमारदेवी
on either side of standard चंद्र and गुप्त
Reverse—on right margin लिच्छवय:

coins, the queen never gets her figure so imprinted. This is hence a very interesting type. Candragupta took pride in his Licchavi alliance and the princess of that family who gave him dignity was pictured along with him on his coin. On the reverse is Lakṣmī, or Śrī with her feet resting on lotus carrying the horn of plenty, cornucopia, and seated on lion signifying thereby that she is on siṁhāsana and is Rājyalakṣmī. In her right hand is a noose the instrument of daṇḍa or punishment and in her left the cornucopia, the receptacle of kośa or treasure and remind us of Kālidāsa's description of Kṣiti or Pṛthvī.

सुतावसूत संपन्नौ कोशदण्डाविव क्षितिः [30] Raghu. XV. 13,

30 She gave birth to two illustrious sons as the Earth produces a full treasure and army complete in every respect.

The coin as a whole is in the fullest sense intended to convey the spirit of Kālidāsa's ideal of the principal queens of a king as given in his verse

कलत्रवन्तमात्मानमवरोधे महत्यपि ।
तया मेने मनस्विन्या लक्ष्म्या च वसुधाधिपः ॥[31] Raghu I. 32,

The principal queen and the lady of Royal Fortune were the two by whom the king considered himself a wedded man and the two are clearly represented; and the lady in flesh and blood being the manasvinī is shown in closer contact with the king being present on the same side opposite him. In the king and queen type of coin of Skandagupta this is repeated, Lakṣmī on the reverse being seated on lotus on this coin and carrying the lotus in her left in the place of the cornucopia, the lotus being symbolic of the Padmanidhi, one of the nine principal treasures.

Abode of both the Goddesses of Learning and Fortune :—A coin from Jessore which has not yet been definitely attributed to any Gupta monarch but which is tentatively given under the coins of Śaśānka (Fig 11) bears very interesting figures on both the obverse and reverse and on the latter the legend नरेन्द्रादित्य [32]. On the obverse the king is shown seated on a lion throne attended by two ladies. On the reverse goddess Lakṣmī stands with lotus in her hand and surrounded by lotuses in bud and and bloom beside her; in front of her near her feet is a swan. To correctly understand this coin one has only to see the verse of Kālidāsa giving Sunandā's description of

[31] Though his harem abounded in damsels, it is by that noble queen and the goddess of Royal Fortune that the king considered himself truly wedded.

[32] The Sun among kings.

the prince of Aṅga who was at once the abode of the god-

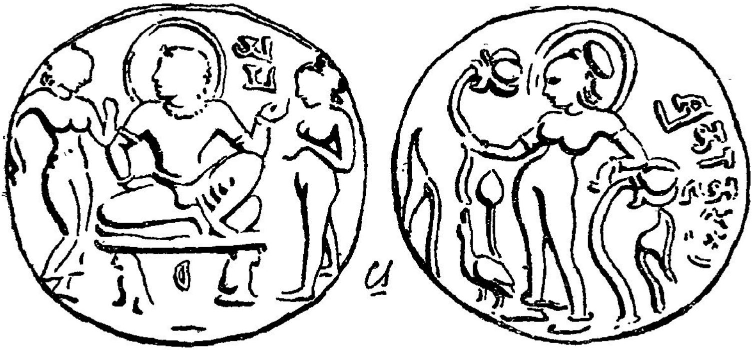

Fig. 11. obverse—above यम beneath couch घ
Revere—on right margin श्रीनरन्द्रादित्य

-dess of Prosperity and of Learning

निसर्गभिन्नास्पदमेकसंस्थमस्मिन् द्वयं श्रीश्च सरस्वती च ।
कान्त्या गिरा सूनृतया च योग्या त्वमेव कल्याणि तयोस्त्रितीया ॥[33]
Raghu VI. 29.

The reverse explains the second half of the verse wherein Sunandā asks princess Indumatī to be his third spouse along with the other two goddesses as she was well fitted by her sweet address and beauty of form. The lotuses and the swan symbolise beauty and sweet address: and through the figure of the goddess there is the suggestion that the form of the queen is comparable to that of the goddess of Royal Fortune herself.

33 Śrī and Sarasvatī who usually dwell apart have come together in the case of this prince; by your sweet address and lovely glow you alone are fit to be their third, O auspicious one !

The Three Emblems of Royalty.—On the coins of Rājendra, the great Coḷa Emperor, son of Rājarāja the Great and the builder of that mighty edifice, the temple of Śiva at Gaṅgakoṇḍacoḷapuram, verily a lyric in stone, is found the emblem of the Coḷas, the tiger seated triumphantly with the emblems of the two principal vanquished neighbours in front and behind, the bow of the Ceras and the fish of the Pāṇḍyas (Fig. 12). At the bottom is the Nāgari legend giving the name of the king. To the top is a parasol in the centre with fly whisks on either side. There are similar coins of Uttamacoḷa and Rājarāja. The importance of the parasol and flywhisks as Royal emblems *par excellence* is clearest in the verse of Kālidāsas

Fig. 12. Below श्रीराजेन्द्रः

जनाय शुद्धान्तचराय शंसते कुमारजन्मामृतसंमिताक्षरम् ।
अदेयमासीत्त्रयमेव भूपतेः शशिप्रभं छत्रमुभे च चामरे ॥

Raghu III. 16.

Riding the Elephant and shaded by Parasol.—In the Rāmāyaṇa the people of Ayodhyā inform Daśaratha on hearing from him of his intention to anoint Rāma as Yuvarāja that it is their great desire to see the noble and

[34] There were only three things that the king could not give away to the person from the harem who spoke words sweet as ambrosia announcing the prince's birth, the umbrella lustrous like the moon, and the two flywhisks.

mighty Rāma going on the lofty state elephant with his head screened from the sky by the umbrella held aloft.

इच्छामो हि महाबाहुं रघुवीरं महावलम् ।
गजेन महता यान्तं रामं छत्रावृताननम् ॥[35] Rāma II, 2, 22.

Kālidāsa describes king Atithi, son of Kuśa and Kumudvatī, riding the elephant in all splendour with parasol held over his head, parasol denied to all others and vouchsafed for him alone, making him emperor of all the domain on earth like Indra in heaven

स पुरं पुरुहूतश्रीः कल्पद्रुमनिभध्वजाम् ।
क्रममाणश्चकार द्यां नागेणैरावतौजसा ॥
तस्यैकस्योच्छ्रितं छत्रं मूर्ध्नि तेनामलत्विषा ।
पूर्वराजवियोगौष्म्यं कृत्स्नस्य जयतो हृतम् ॥[36]

Raghu XVII, 32-33.

The elephant rider type of coin of Kumāragupta is a splendid example of this lovely theme of emperor riding the state elephant in all his glory with the single parasol on earth raised over his head (Fig 13). In the Bhāja cave there is a carving of Indra with the Kalpadrumas described by Kālidāsa included in the panel.

Fig. 13. Traces of legend lost.

Like Guha seated on Peacock.—In the peacock

[35] We desire Rāma, the long-armed, the hero among Raghus, of great might, going on a huge elephant with face screened by an umbrella.

[36] Beautiful like Indra he paraded on his elephant mighty like Airāvata through his city filled with flags resembling Kalpa trees and made it a second heaven.

type of Kumāragupta's coins is a representation of a deity on peacock after whom the king himself is named (Fig 14). Kumāra, Kārtikeya, Ṣaḍānana and Brahmaṇyadeva was greatly honoured in the early centuries of the Christian era and we find Brahmaṇyadeva represented six-headed on Yaudheya coins of the 2nd century A.D. In the so called warrior type of Yaudheya coins of slightly later date Kārtikeya is shown with his spear as in the previous coin, with a single face and with his cock beside him. Kumāra was the warrior god *par excellence* and was the type kings tried to emulate. And we find Kālidāsa often comparing different princes to Kumāra

Fig. 14. On right margin
[म] हेन्द्रकुमारः

ब्राह्मे मुहूर्ते किल तस्य देवी कुमारकल्पं सुषुवे कुमारम् [37]

Raghu V, 36

अथोपयन्त्रा सदृशेन युक्तां स्कन्देन साक्षादिव देवसेनाम् [38]

Raghu VII, 1

हरेः कुमारोऽपि कुमारविक्रमः[39] Raghu III, 55

Over his head alone was raised an umbrella, and by that umbrella of spotless lustre the affliction of the entire world on account of separation from the former king was removed.

[37] His queen gave birth at dawn to a prince equal to Kumāra.

[38] With bridegroom befitting her, like Devasenā herself with Skanda.

[39] The prince mighty like Kumāra.

and so forth. The figure on the coin is fully understood in this sense of comparison when we compare it with the line

भूयिष्ठमासीदुपमेयकान्तिर्मयूरपृष्ठाश्रयिणा गुहेन[40] Raghu VI. 4

Mighty like the Wielder of the Thunderbolt.—On the coins of the Kṣatrapa Nahapaṇa there are on the reverse two emblems, the arrow and the thunderbolt, both weapons of war (Fig. 15). These were the two most important weapons used to vanquish enemies. A passage from the Abhijñānaśākuntalam makes it clear that the bow of the ruling king and the thunderbolt of Indra were the two things that effectively protected the realm from the onslaught of enemies

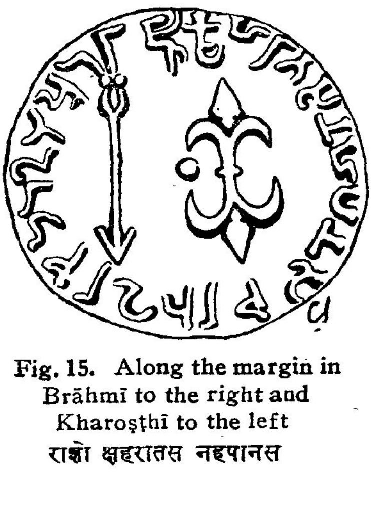

Fig. 15. Along the margin in Brāhmī to the right and Kharoṣṭhī to the left
राज्ञो क्षहरातस नहपानस

आशंसन्ते सुरयुवतयो बद्धवैरा हि दैत्यै-
रस्याधिज्ये धनुषि विजयं पौरुहूते च वज्रे ॥[41] Śāk. II, 16

But the true significance of the thunderbolt is clearly to be understood from the verse of Kālidāsa that describes

40 He looked exceedingly beautiful comparable to Guha seated on the back of the peacock.

41 Damsels in heaven who are on inimical terms with the demons look forward for victory through the strung bow of this king and the thunderbolt of Indra.

the might of the king as comparable to that of the wielder of the thunderbolt

ततः परं वज्रधरप्रभावस्तदात्मजः संयति वज्रघोषः ।
बभूव वज्राकरभूषणायाः पतिः पृथिव्याः किल वज्रणाभः ॥[42]

Raghu XVIII. 21

The special power of the thunderbolt is also clear when we see the description of the battle between Raghu and Indra where finally Indra throws away his bow and takes the thunderbolt as the supreme weapon.

स चापमुत्सृज्य विवृद्धमत्सरः प्रणाशनाय प्रबलस्य विद्विषः ।
महीध्रपक्षव्यपरोपणोचितं स्फुरत्प्रभामण्डलमस्त्रमाददे ॥[43]

Raghu III. 60

Mighty like the Lion.—Power is associated with the king of the beasts, the lion. As Raghu came on with his tumultuous mighty host of victorious warriors the lions in the Himālayan caves just turned their head a little without the least concern to see the troops marching past, as they were equally powerful.

शशंस तुल्यसत्त्वानां सैन्यघोषेऽप्यसंभ्रमम् ।
गुहाशयानां सिंहानां परिवृत्यावलोकनम् ॥ [44] Raghu IV, 72

42 After him his son Vajranābha of might equal to the wielder of the thunderbolt (Indra), and whose war-cry resembled peals of thunder, became the lord of the earth that is adorned with diamond mines.

43 With his ire increased he threw his bow and to kill his powerful foe took his weapon with effulgent light around it used to cut the wings of mountains.

44 The look of the lions with their heads turned a bit as they lay in the caves announced their fearlessness in spite of the din of the army as they were of equal strength.

Naturally the king asserted his own power by vanquishing the lion and the poet's fancy englightens us on the king's attitude of fight with the lord of the beasts by explaining that the king cleared himself of his obligation to the mighty elephants that helped him in his battles by killing their dreaded enemy.

तान्हत्वा गजकुलबद्धतीव्रवैरान्काकुत्स्थः कुटिलनखाग्रलग्नमुक्तान् ।
आत्मानं रणकृतकर्मणां गजानामानृण्यं गतमिव मार्गणैरमंस्त ॥[45]

Raghu IX. 65

And in this combat his might is proved to be equal to that of the lion. It is this fight with the lion and establishing of his superior power and leonine strength that is sought in the figure of the king slaying the lion on the lion slayer type of coin of Candragupta II (Fig. 16). The use of arrows to kill the lion answers the description of Kālidāsa. On the reverse of the coin is the legend सिंहविक्रमः[46] which is an echo of Kālidāsa's सिंहोरुसत्त्वम्[47] and the verse

Fig. 16. Along the margin
नरेन्द्रचन्द्रः [प्रथित..द्वितेजय]
त्यजेयो भुवि सिङ्हविक्रमः

[45] Having killed them that were deadly enemies of the race of elephants and that had pearls sticking to their curved claws, that descendant ot Kakutstha considered that he had paid off with his arrows the debt he owed elephants that had helped him in battles.

[46] Mighty like the lion.

[47] Very mighty like the lion.

ततो मृगेन्द्रस्य मृगेन्द्रगामी वधाय वध्यस्य शरं शरण्यः ।
जाताभिषङ्गो नृपतिर्निषङ्गादुद्धर्तुमैच्छत्प्रसभोद्धृतारिः ॥[48]

Raghu II. 30

Beautiful in his Warrior Pose.—In some of these coins on which Candragupta II appears attacking the lion his right leg is bent and left leg drawn to trample the animal even as he shoots him with his bow and arrow (Fig. 17.) This is the famous ālīḍha posture, one of the five favourite warrior poses. Does this not remind us of the line of Kālidāsa where he describes Raghu majestically standing in ālīḍha pose to attack Indra?

Fig. 17. Along the margin
नरेन्द्रचन्द्रः प्रथित . . जयत्यजेयो
भुवि सिङ्हविक्रमः

स एवमुक्त्वा मघवन्तमुन्मुखः करिष्यमाणः सशरं शरासनम् ।
अतिष्ठदालीढविशेषशोभिना वपुःप्रकर्षेण विडम्बितेश्वरः ॥[49]

Raghu III. 52

[48] Then the king of leonine gait and refuge of those needing protection, who had uprooted his enemies by force, being enraged, desired to pull out an arrow from the quiver to kill the mighty lion that deserved death.

[49] Having so spoken to Indra with face upwards, and trying to fit arrow to the bow, he stood exceedingly beautiful in the ālīḍha pose resembling Śiva by his mighty body.

and of the picture of prince Sudarśana using the bow.

व्यूह्य स्थितः किञ्चिदिवोत्तरार्धमुन्नद्धचूडोऽञ्चितसव्यजानुः ।
आकर्णमाकृष्टसबाणधन्वा व्यरोचताग्रे स विनीयमानः ॥[50]

Raghu XVIII, 51

How can this be better glorified than by such a representation on the coin with the full force of the comparison brought nearer the reigning king?

Lustrous like the Sun.—Some early cast or die-struck coins from Avanti represent on the obverse a noble personality a king or deity as it is interpreted standing wearing short-tailed coat and high tiara (Fig 18). Beside him to his right is a standard surmounted by the Sun with fierce rays issuing on all sides. To the left of the figure is the solar symbol composed of alternating crescents and broad arrowheads attached to central boss. Above the figure are the Svastika and taurine symbol. It is from this that the later coins like the Kāca type of Gupta coin are to be derived for the solar standard motif. The true significance of the Avanti coin, specially when we take into consideration the

Fig. 18.

50 As he was trained in archery he shone bright standing with the forepart of his body stretched a little, with his hair tied up, with his left knee contracted, and with the bow to which arrow was added drawn up to the ear.

place of its find, is well understood when we read Sunandā's description of the king of Avanti. Here Kālidāsa describes him as of beautiful chiselled features and lustrous like the Sun after he was properly trimmed by Tvaṣṭā on the rotating wheel used for the purpose. The fierce-rayed Sun on standard beside the king and the Solar wheel are thus significant when we consider Kālidāsa's verse

अवन्तिनाथोऽयमुदग्रबाहुर्विशालवक्षास्तनुवृत्तमध्यः ।
आरोप्य चक्रभ्रममुष्णतेजाः त्वष्ट्रेव शाणोल्लिखितो विभाति ॥[51]

Raghu VI, 32

Wins Heaven by Deeds of Merit.—The dominion of king on earth is conquered by force. But the ambition of man is unlimited and conquests lead on to further conquests. The next sphere of conquest after the subjugation of the earth is heaven. To occupy the seat of Indra as almost his equal is the desire that all the great kings evinced in ancient India. Conquest of heaven was not possible by force but by one's own good deeds and the performance of difficult sacrifices like Rājasūya and Aśvamedha. Gupta coins abound in legends recording this

Fig. 19. On right margin
अप्रतिरथो विजि [त्य क्षितिं]
Continued on left margin
सुचरितैर्दिवं जयति
Beneath left arm
समुद्र

[51] This Lord of Avanti has long rms, broad chest and slender rounded waist and appears like the luminous Sun chiselled and trimmed by Tvaṣṭa placing him on the revolving lathe.

great accomplishment of the king. The winning of heaven by good deeds is given in so many words. In the archer type of Samudragupta's coin (Fig. 19) it is

अप्रतिरथो विजित्य क्षितिं सुचरितैर्दिवं जयति [52]

Cat. Ind. Coins, Gupta p. 6

The legend on the Chattra type of Candragupta II is

क्षितिमवजित्य सुचरितैर्दिवं जयति विक्रमादित्यः[53] *Ibid*. p. 35

Kumāragupta's swordsman type of coins give the legend

गामवजित्य सुचरितैर्दिवं जयति विक्रमादित्यः[54] *Ibid*. p. 67

though the legend is different on the archer, horseman and other types

विजितावनिरवनिपतिः कुमारगुप्तो दिवं जयति [55] *Ibid* p. 61

क्षितिपतिरजितो विजयी कुमारगुप्तो दिवं जयति[56]

Ibid. p. 71 etc.

The idea of winning heaven is still present in these legends as well. In the verse from the Mandasor inscription of Yaśodharman

52 Having conquered the earth without an opponent, he wins heaven by his good deeds.

53 Vikramāditya having conquered the earth wins heaven by good deeds.

54 Vikramāditya having conquered the earth wins heaven by good deeds.

55 King Kumāragupta, after conquering the earth, wins heaven.

56 King Kumāragupta, unconquered and victorious, wins heaven.

गामेवोन्मातुमूर्ध्वं विगणयितुमिव ज्योतिषां चक्रवालं
निर्देष्टुं मार्गमुच्चैर्दिव इव सुकृतोपार्जितायाः स्वकीर्तेः ।
तेनाकल्पान्तकालावधिरवनिभुजा श्रीयशोधर्मणायं
स्तम्भः स्तम्भाभिरामस्थिरभुजपरिघेणोच्छ्रितिं नायितोऽत्र ॥[57]

C. Inscr. Ind. III, p. 147

the line

निर्देष्टुं मार्गमुच्चैर्दिव इव सुकृतोपार्जितायाः स्वकीर्तेः[58] (Fig. 20.)

suggesting the way up for his fame to reach heaven won by his good deeds is indeed a noble echo of this legend on Gupta coins. And the source of this legend is to be sought in Kālidāsa. The attainment of heaven by सुकृत[59] or सुचरित[60] is clearly given in Kālidāsa's line

Fig. 20. द्दिव इय सुकृतोपर्ज्जितायाः स्वकीर्तेः

तस्मिन्गते द्यां सुकृतोपलब्धाम्[61] Raghu XVIII, 22

The term कर्मभिः[62] is sometimes used in the coin legends as on the Kāca type of Samudragupta's coins

[57] As if to measure the heights of heaven above, or to count the galaxy of luminous objects, or to show the path on high to heaven to his own fame acquired by his good deeds, this pillar, lasting till the end of the aeon, has been set up by Śrī Yaśodharman whose firm bolt-like arm is lovely like a column.

[58] To show the path on high to heaven to his own fame acquired by his good deeds.

[59] & [60] Good deeds.

[61] When he went to heaven obtained by good deeds.

[62] Acts.

काचो गामवाजित्य दिवं कर्मभिरुत्तैर्मजयति[63]

Cat. Ind. Coins, Gupta, p. 15.

This is found given in exactly the same manner in the line of Kālidāsa

कौमुद्वतेयः कुमुदावदातैर्द्यामर्जितां कर्मभिरारुरोह[64]

Raghu XVIII, 3

Horse Sacrifice:—The Aśvamedha sacrifice being one of those that established the reputation and suzereignty of the powerful Royal victor on earth and assured him place in heaven it was performed by all the great kings of the Imperial dynasties. On some of the Sātavāhana coins there is the horse represented before the sacrificial post (Fig. 21). Among the coins of the Guptas the Aśvamedha type of Samudragupta is one of the most interesting (Fig. 22). On the obverse of it the horse is shown standing near the sacrificial post; on the reverse a lady stands with flywhisk in her right hand, a staff adorned with pennons inr front of her. Behind her is the legend अश्वमधपराक्रमः [65].

Fig. 21. Along the margin [राञो] सिरिचद सातिस

63 Having won the earth, Kāca wins heaven by his excellent acts.

64 The son of Kumudvatī climbed to heaven won by his acts pure like a lily.

65 Mighty by the performance of Aśvamedha sacrifice.

Kālidāsa describes Indra conversing with Raghu and remarking that Dilīpa was depriving him of his glory

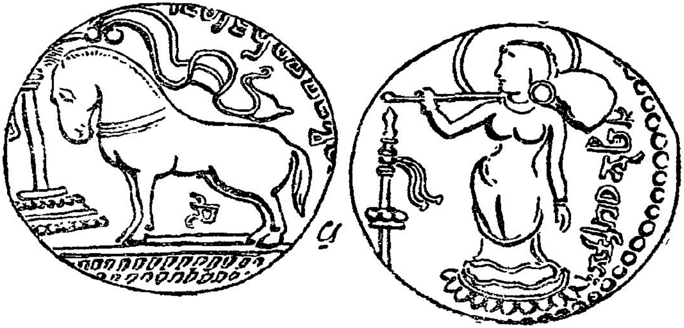

Fig. 22. Obverse—along the margin
राजाधिराजः पृथिवीमवित्वा [दिवं जयत्यप्रतिवार्यवीर्यः]
Reverse—on right margin अश्वमेधपराक्रमः

by performing the Aśvamedha sacrifices and he carried away the sacrificial horse for saving his glory.

यशस्तु रक्ष्यं परतो यशोधनैः ।
जगत्प्रकाशं तदशेषमिज्यया भवद्गुरुर्लङ्घयितुं ममोद्यतः ॥[66]

Raghu III, 48

And naturally the performance of Aśvamedha established the sovereign's parākrama and the legend on the coin is pregnant with meaning. The horse itself is called by Kālidāsa the first and foremost accessory of the sacrifice

[66] But those who value fame as their treasure should protect it from enemies; and your father is striving to excel this world-wide renown of mine by performing sacrifices.

तदङ्गमग्र्यं मघवन्महाक्रतोरमुं तुरङ्गं प्रतिमोक्तुमर्हसि[67]

Raghu III. 46

So it is that that animal is prominently figured on the coin.

With the Lyre on the Lap.—In the Mṛcchakaṭika Cārudatta remarks that the lyre is a gem but only it is not obtained from the ocean

वीणा हि नामासमुद्रोत्थितं रत्नम्[68] Mṛcchakaṭika I

It is a vinodasthāna and helps to beguile the mind. In the Kathāsaritsāgara we hear of Naravāhanadatta as an adept in music and dance. A greater royal musician than Udayana is unknown to Sanskrit literature. The Rāmāyaṇa mentions Rāma as an adept in vaihārika śilpa

वैहारिकाणां शिल्पानां विज्ञातार्थविभागवित्[69] Rāma II, 1, 28

In the famous Allahābād inscription of Samudragupta that great emperor's proficiency in music is described in the line

निशितविदग्धमतिगान्धर्वललितैर्व्रीडितत्रिदशपतिगुरुतुम्बुरुनारदादेः[70]

C. Ins. Ind. III, p. 8.

67 Therefore, O Indra! please release this horse, the most essential thing in this great sacrifice.

68 The lyre is a jewel but not sprung from the ocean.

69 Learned in fine arts intended as diversion and clever in different subtle meanings.

70 Who put to shame the preceptor of the celestial king, Tumburu, Nārada and others by his keen trained intellect, and subtle variations in musical modes.

This is substantiated by the picture on the coin where the king is shown seated on couch with the lyre in his lap, his fingers thrumming the strings of the instrument (Fig. 23). The lyre resting on the king's lap does certainly recall Kālidāsa's verse

Fig. 23. Along the margin
महाराजाधिराजश्रीसमुद्रगुप्तः
Below couch near footstool
सि

अङ्कमङ्कपरिवर्तनोचिते
तस्य निन्यतुरशून्यतामुभे ।
वल्लकी च हृदयङ्गमस्वना
वल्गुवागपि च वामलोचना ॥ [71]

Raghu XIX, 13

Sportive Lotus in Hand.—In the description of the lovely princes assembled at the svayamvara of Indumatī, Kālidāsa begins with one who gently turned a lotus he held by its long stalk in his hand. It is one of the amorous sports of the gay royal youths here congregated.

कश्चित्कराभ्यामुपगूढनालमालोलपत्राभिहतद्विरेफम् ।
रजोभिरन्तः परिवेषबन्धि लीलारविन्दं भ्रमयाञ्चकार ॥[72]

Raghu VI, 13

[71] Two things, both accustomed to play on his lap, never left his lap vacant, the lute whose notes allured the heart and the beautiful-eyed damsel with sweet voice.

[72] One of the princes twirled a sportive lotus held in his hands by the stem, its moving petals warding off the bees around and its pollen inside forming circles.

The lotus in his hand symbolises his aesthetic taste and his life of ease and pleasure.

On the couch type of coin of Candragupta II (Fig. 24), the king is shown resting on a couch with a lotus in his right hand, the left resting on the seat, one leg tucked up and the other resting on jewelled footstool. The legend रूपाकृती [73] given below the couch is very significant as his beauty is emphasised. It cannot be denied that no better picture can be found to answer the description of the sportive prince with the lotus in his hand.

Fig. 24. Along the margin देवश्रीमहाराजाधिराजश्री चन्द्रगुप्तस्य
• Below couch रूपाकृती

Bedecked and lovely like the Kalpadruma mirrored on the shining slopes of Meru.—On some local coins like those of king Parvata from Kauśāmbi (Fig. 25). and of the Kuṇinda king Amoghabhūti, there is a representation of the tree in railing and a mountain. The significance of this is not quite clear though it may be understood as the best of each class, Meru

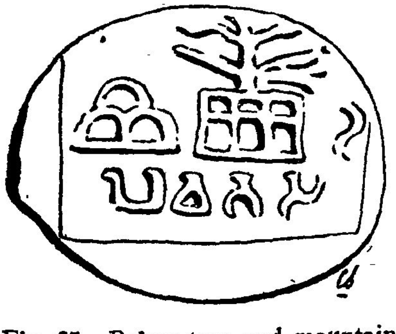

Fig. 25. Below tree and mountain पवतस

[73] Beauty and form.

among mountains and the Kalpavṛkṣa among trees. There is a verse in the Raghuvaṁśa describing king Atithi before a mirror decked in all his jewels and dress and reflected in all his glory like the Kalpavṛkṣa loaded with jewels and silks mirrored on the slopes of the Meru mountain

नेपथ्यदर्शिनश्छाया तस्यादर्शे हिरण्मये ।
विरराजोदिते सूर्ये मेरौ कल्पतरोरिव ॥[74] Raghu XVII. 26

It is this idea of a king in all his glory that is in all likelihood suggested by the representation on these coins.

Like the young calf developed into the mighty Bull or lordly Elephant.—Describing the fullness of youth attained by Raghu, his increased physical power and overpowering personality, Kālidāsa remarks

महोक्षतां वत्सतरः स्पृशन्निव द्विपेन्द्रभावं कलभः श्रयन्निव ।
रघुः क्रमाद्यौवनभिन्नशैशवः पुपोष गाम्भीर्यमनोहरं वपुः ॥
Raghu III. 32

Representation of the humped bull, elephant and lion is quite common on many Indian coins. But the coin of Apollodotus both circular and square (Fig. 26), certain

[74] When he examined his decorations his image in his golden mirror shone like that of the Kalpa tree on the slopes of the Meru mountain lit by the rising sun.

[75] As a young calf grows into a mighty bull and as a baby elephant becomes a noble elephant in due course, so Raghu slowly passed from childhood to youth and maintained a body at once noble and beautiful.

Audumbara coins like those of Mahādeva (Fig. 27), and

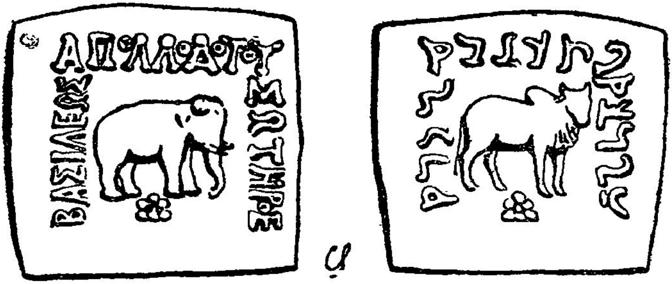

Fig. 26. Obverse—along the margin
Basileos Apollodotou Sateros
Reverse—along the margin महरजस अपलदतस त्रतरस

Rudravarma, and some Yaudheya coins (Fig. 28), containing

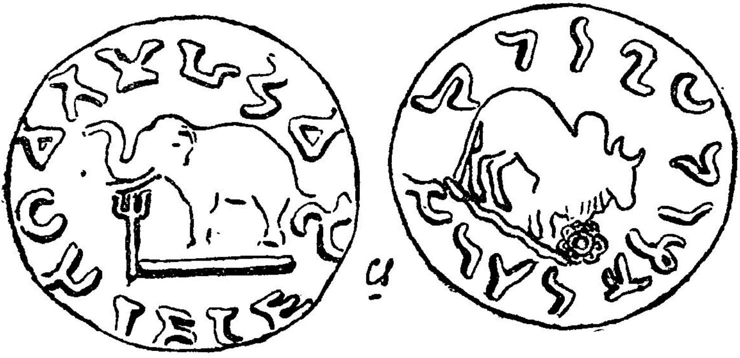

Fig. 27. Obverse—along the margin भगवतमहदवस
and below रजरज
Reverse—along the margin भगवत महदेवस and below रजरज

the figure of elephant on obverse and bull on reverse are most interesting and both the comparisons are here present

and it is not unlikely that the significance sought to be conveyed by the figures is the mighty personality of the

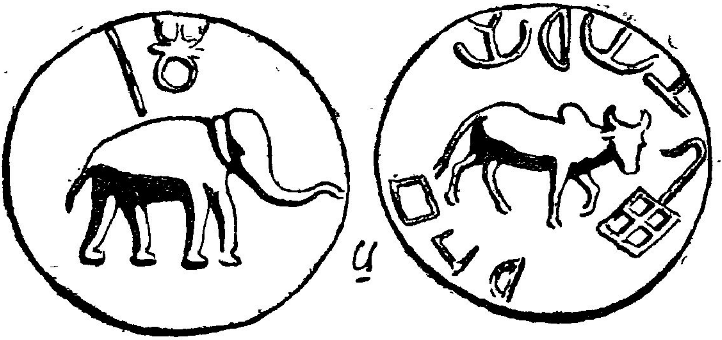

Fig. 28. Obverse—on top margin यौधेयानां
uncertain legend below

king that ranks with the majesty of the full-grown elephant and bull.

These are a few suggestions in an attempt to understand the figures and legends on some of the most interesting Indian coins. The study of Numismatics is undoubtedly fascinating but more so is the attempt to understand the coins with the help of literary parallels. This small attempt to examine early Indian coins in the light of some significant verses of Kālidāsa will indeed be fruitfiul if it stimulates further thought on the subject.

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OPINIONS

SCULPTURE INSPIRED BY KALIDASA

Mahamahopadhyaya Professor S. Kuppuswami Sastri, M.A., I.E.S., in his Preface:—Sri Sivaramamurti's mind always dwells in the realm of art and revels in it, He is one of the exceptionally gifted Sanskrit scholars who could expound clearly and sweetly a theme of this kind. How well he has done his work it is for *sahrdayas* to judge. An eminent *sahrdaya* adorning the world of politics, the Rt. Hon'ble Mr. Jayakar, has given high praise, quite deservedly, in his Foreword to Sri Sivaramamurti's artistic sense and work.

The Rt. Hon'ble M.R. Jayakar, M.A., LL.D., D.C.L., P.C., in his Foreword:—I had the pleasure of listening to the discourse which forms the subject-matter of the present treatise. It was a revealing topic rare in its range of originality. Few students of Kalidas or of Indian sculpture could have done better justice to the subject. . . . It denotes great research on the part of the author, both in the region of sculpture and poetry, to be able to make this critical selection and to identify with passages in Kalidasa's works. It indicates a range of research and scholarship rare in these utilitarian times. We must all be grateful to the author for his wonderful production. Let us hope that the publication will evoke a new vista of scholarship and enquiry, so fruitful in its consequences on the present age of dead routine and uniformity.

Sir. P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar, K.C.S.I., C.I.E.,LL.D.—I have read your booklet on Sculpture inspired by Kalidasa with great pleasure. It fully deserves all the praise bestowed upon it by the Rt. Hon'ble Mr.M.R. Jayakar and by Mahamahopadhyaya S. Kuppuswami Sastrigal. Your selections from Kalidasa show fine taste and discrimination and a keen appreciation of the beauty of Kalidasa's poetry.

Mahamahopadhyaya Principal V.V. Mirashi, M.A.—Please convey my hearty thanks to Mr. C. Sivaramamurti, the talented author of the book. I have read the book with great interest.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice N.G.A. Edgley, M.A., I.C.S.—You have certainly dealt with the subject in a most interesting and attractive way and have thrown a new light on the interpretation of ancient Indian sculpture.

Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt.—I do not know whom to admire most—the artist in you or the Sanskritist. The line drawings from ancient Indian sculpture and painting are remarkably well-done, faithful to the originals, and themselves the work of a real artist. We can now congratulate Indology (particularly in the archaeological and fine arts departments of the science) in having a true artist who is at the same time a deep scholar and *rasika* as one of its exponents, and we can hope that he

will be one of our foremost exponents of the subject. I wish on out own behalf that you will not abandon the line you have struck out for yourself, and for the first time in India, of combining the artist and the scholar in exposing for our appreciation ancient and medieval Indian sculpture.

C.W. Gurner Esq., C.S.I., C.I.E.. I.C.S.—For a long time I have been looking for some work which would illustrate the ideas of Kalidasa from classical Indian sculpture, and this book makes a start exactly in this direction. His illustrations are remarkably well chosen and bring out many points that might escape attention except for this visual interpretation.

N.C. Mehta Esq., I.C.S.—I must congratulate you on a very fascinating booklet and especially on your capacity to *illustrate* your things by line drawings of considerable merit.

Rao Bahadur K.N. Dikshit, M.A.—Your latest publication is calculated to popularise ancient art to the student of literature and bring the fragrance of Kalidasa's ever-fresh poetry to the dry archaeologist. I wish every student of ancient art were an artist like Mr. Sivaramamurti who has been able to achieve such success *by his sketches. . . . I have nothing but admiration* for your publication.

Dr. D.R. Bhandarkar, M.A., Ph.D.—*It is something like a* product of genius.

Dr. S.K. De, M.A., D.Litt.—The discourse is delightful reading, and reveals the author's *sahrdayatva*, as well as learning in the spheres of sculpture and poetry. The illustrations are well drawn, and are carefully selected. They make a fine accompaniment to the very pleasant exposition.

O.C. Gangoly Esq.—It is an excellent tribute to classical Indian poetry as well as to classical Indian art.

Nandalal Bose Esq.—I am sure it will be a great source of inspiration and help to our young artists.

The Hindu, dated 21-3-1943.—One of Mr. Sivaramamurti's accomplishments alone could have ventured to present these instances of poetry-inspired sculpture, as the task requires the combination of a keen study of Sanskrit literature with eminent artistic gifts.

The Guardian, dated 16-4-1943.—This beautiful booklet is fascinating study in literature and art.

The Modern Review, dated August, 1943.—It is a welcome and valuable contribution to the study of Sanskrit literature in its *realistic aspect* as a *moving vehicle of the life* and *culture of the* land.

Epigraphical Echoes of Kalidasa

Rao Bahadur K.N. Dikshit, M.A., in his Foreword.—He has searched far and wide among Indian inscriptions to find out the material he had in view and his selection of epigraphical passage thus covers a wide range from the 2nd century A. D. to the 12th century and from Kathiawar in the West to Bengal in the East and from Kurukshetra in the North to the extreme South of Peninsula, thus exhibiting every variety of writing found in Indian inscriptions. It is hoped that this work to the preparation of which the author has devoted great labour will have the effect of interesting Sanskrit scholars to the treasures embodied in ancient writings. . . We may hope to have more delightful studies at the hands of one who combines in himself in rare proportions such accomplishments as a connoisseur of Sanskrit literature, a sound archaeologist and last but not least a fine artist.

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E , LL.D.—I have just finished the perusal of your memoir on the 'Epigraphical Echoes of Kalidasa, which evinces a deep scholarship and gifts of analysis as well as an enviable acquaintance with the essentials of various types of art. My sincere congratulations and good wishes.

The Rt. Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, P.C., C.H., LL.D.—The book interested me immensely, and I marvelled at your industry and skill in interpretation. Mr. Dikshit's appreciation is by no means exaggerated. This and your former paper establish what he calls your accomplishments as connoisseur, archaeologist and artist.

Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyer, K.C.S.I., C.I.E. LL.D.—There is no doubt that many of the passages in the inscriptions have been largely inspired by the ideas to be found in the works of Kalidasa and other eminent Sanskrit poets. It shows your wide acquaintance with Sanskrit literature. . . . I have great pleasure in congratulating you on the results of your research in Epigraphy,

Rao Bahadur Professor K.V. Rangaswami Aiyangar, M.A.—'Allow me to congratulate you on a really fine work. The identification of expressions, skilfully interwoven with the texture of the inscriptions, will only be possible for one, like you, steeped in Kalidasa, Valmiki and Sanskrit classics generally. In almost every instance that you have cited, deliberate borrowing is clear. Your comments add to the value of mere citation. The English renderings at the foot of the page are splendid. . . . The artistic reproduction of the originals of the passages are most valuable as in your reproduction one is able to read the originals with the *chaya* below, whereas it is difficult for a lay man to do so in the black and white reproductions in the Epigraphia Indica and other publications. Those who wish to learn to read inscriptions will find your reproductions more helpful than Burnell or Buhler's Palaeo-

graphical works. The Archaeological Society of South India is indeed fortunate in being able to commence its series with a work so excellent in every respect as your little book,

C. W. Gurner Esq., C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S.—A very useful handbook for correlation of Kāvya with epigraphical records.

Dr. A. S. Altekar, M.A., D.Litt.—I have read the book carefully and was delighted to go through it. This is the first book to be published which gives so many facsimiles of so many inscriptions belonging to different centuries and provinces. It will be of great use even to students of Palaeography. The author is undoubtedly very good in these drawings and it will be very good if the Society requests him to write a short manual of Indian Palaeography. None is available at present. The resemblances pointed out by the author are interesting and the book will serve its purpose if it dispels the impression that inscriptions are dull and prosaic things. The book draws pointed attention to an aspect of epigraphical study that is usually neglected. It should be on the shelf of every cultured gentleman and college library. I hope the book will soon run into the second edition.

Mahamahopadhyaya Principal V. V. Mirashi. M.A.—Please accept my grateful thanks for your delightful little book entitled Epigraphical Echoes of Kalidasa. The book is so designed as to create interest among general readers as well as Sanskritists in the epigraphical records of the country. It was a happy idea to give eye-copies of the relevant portions of epigraphy. Some of the similarities you have drawn attention to are very striking and leave no doubt that the drafters of the *prasastis* and copper-plate grants had the corresponding passages of the Sanskrit Kavyas in mind when they wrote those expressions.

N. C. Mehta Esq., I.C.S.—I have read Mr. Sivaramamurti's wonderful little book 'Epigraphical Echoes of Kalidasa.' A book like this is only possible from one who has a profound knowledge of Sanskrit as well as old epigraphic records; coupled in this particular case with a unique gift of giving life to all sculptures and epigraphs by means of rapid, lively and accurate sketches. Sivaramamurti has doubtless a great role to play in interpreting the art and culture of India to the younger generation.

Dr. B. Ch. Chabra, M.A., M.O.L., Ph.D.—I need hardly add that the book is exceedingly interesting. The figures so finely drawn by the author, giving the facsimiles of the original inscriptions, not only enhance the value of the book, but also largely contribute to the popularization of the study of epigraphy which is otherwise such an obscure subject and lacks in popular appeal.

Amaravati Sculptures in the Madras Government Museum

Dr. F.H. Gravely, D.Sc., in his Foreword.—In the following paper Mr. Sivaramamurti reviews the whole collection as it now stands from the standpoint of the present knowledge, completing the reading of the many inscriptions associated with them, and adding a number of new identifications as well as correcting some of those previously suggested. . . Such antiquities can only be rightly understood when viewed against the background of the culture from which they sprang. He has therefore been careful to discuss not only their art but also their iconography and symbolism, which he very properly treats in its relationship to the ancient Indian culture out of which Buddhism and Jainism and, more directly, modern Hinduism have alike sprung. In this connection he makes a suggestive contribution to the problem of the origin of the indigenous form of Buddha image. He has also treated the sculptures as the illustrations of contemporary life and legends that they clearly are, relating episodes and articles shown in them to the passages and names found in Sanskrit and Pali literature. And he has given an interesting historical introduction which includes a general account of ancient Amaravati and the history of the Satavahana (Andhra) kingdom, of the formation of different schools of Buddhism and of the nature and origin of stupas, as well as of the four distinct periods that have to be recognized in Amaravati sculpture and the unfortunate recent history of the Amaravati stupa. His skill as an artist has enabled him to illustrate most effectively what he found out about Indian dress, furniture, houses, etc., of about 2000 years ago and the characteistics of different early schools of Indian art from the Sunga sculpture at Bharhut to the Chalukyan and Pallava sculpture of early medieval times.

Mahamahopadhyaya **Professor S. Kuppuswami Sastri, M.A., I.E.S.**—Your work is a very substantial contribution to a historical and critical study of the sculptural antiquities of India, particularly in their relation to the roots of Indian culture. I have no doubt it will tell in the world of archaeological scholarship.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice N.G.A. Edgley, M.A., I.C.S.—I congratulate you. It is a work of great merit.

Dr. D.R. Bhandarkar, M.A., Ph.D.—I am convinced that it is a scholarly production.

Dr. U.N. Ghoshal, M.A., Ph.D.—Let me congratulate you on your fine performance on these world famed sculptures.

Dr. V. S. Agrawala, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D.—Many thanks for your monumental work on Amaravati Sculptures. I should con-

gratulate you whole-heartedly on accomplishing a work of such magnitude and genuine worth. It not only gives ample proofs of your great schalarship but introduces in the domain of Indian art new and fascinating canons of interpretation. Your attempt to present art as a document of contemporary culture opens up fresh vistas of research with endless possibilities. Looked at from this point of view Sanskrit literature appears as a veritable source radiating streams of light to reveal the hidden beauties of ancient Indian art. Your account of life in the Satavahana period affords extremely charming reading.

The Statesman, dated 13-12-1942.—In the present well-written monograph the author has produced an admirably comprehensive and up-to-date description of the sculptures of the Madras Museum collection. It includes a short but valuable historical introduction, with an excellent survey of the art, iconography and symbolism of the monument, and a vivid and complete picture of the culture and civilisation of the period accompanied with illustrative drawings of the sculptures and copious references from Brahmanical and Buddhist literature.

The Times of India, dated 9-11-1942.—An excellent descriptive bulletin. This publication is commendable not merely for its attempt to comprehensiveness but also for its exposition which is simple and straightforward.

The Hindu, dated 21-2-1943.—Mr. Sivaramamurti has accomplished his work with erudition, judgment, literary skill and, above all, a high sense of art.

Triveni, dated March, 1943.—Mr. Sivaramamurti, than whom no better scholar could be thought of to do justice to this kind of work, has placed all lovers of art under a deep debt of gratitude, by bringing all the available material on the subject into one compass and presenting it in a systematic and scientific way with the results of his own investigations. Mr. Murti is a careful student of archaeology and a very fine artist in addition, a rare combination not usually met with among archaeologists. He has treated the subject exhaustively from various points of view. Mr. Sivaramamurti deserves to be congratulated on the splendid manner in which he has dealt with the subject and for the quality of high scholarship and artistic sensibility whicb he has brought to bear in interpretation of it.

Journal of Indian History, dated April, 1943.—The work is a standing monument of the author's constructive scholarship and a most scholarly study of one of our greatest art treasures.